

# American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.  
—James Monroe

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## Dispute Rages Over Operation Of NLRB

A. F. of L. Charges Board with Bias in Rulings Involving Conflicts with CIO Unions

### LAW AMENDMENTS SOUGHT

But Stand Firm Against Movement to Strip Labor Board of Present Authority to Foster Unionization

In addition to the dispute between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, which was discussed in last week's issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, the labor situation in the United States is clouded and confused by another controversy which is raging and has raged during the last three and a half years. The National Labor Relations Act, commonly known as the Wagner Act, and the Board which administers it, have been the targets of criticism not only from employers but also from certain branches of labor itself. Proposals for drastic modification of the law have been made from time to time, and the present session of Congress will in all probability have to deal with this important aspect of the entire problem of American labor relations.

#### Provisions of Act

The National Labor Relations Act was signed July 5, 1935, by President Roosevelt. This law was the natural outgrowth of the famous Section 7a of the NRA which gave to labor the right to organize and bargain collectively with employers. At the time of its enactment, all friends of organized labor hailed it as a momentous victory for labor because it placed the power of the federal government behind the right of workers to form unions of their own choosing and bargain with their employers over such working conditions as rates of pay and hours of work.

In order to make effective the provisions of the law with respect to the formation of labor unions and collective bargaining, a number of unfair practices on the part of employers were forbidden. It becomes a violation of the law for any employer to interfere in any way with the right of workers to form unions of their own choosing. They cannot discriminate against any worker who joins a union, nor can they discharge him for union activities. Refusal to negotiate with representatives of a union supported by workers is regarded as a violation of the law.

In a word, the purpose of the labor act is solely to safeguard the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively with employers. In order to make its provisions effective, a board of three members was created to administer the act. The National Labor Relations Board has no authority to settle a dispute which arises between workers and employers in an industry, or to prevent a strike, or to raise the wages of workers or otherwise improve working conditions. It cannot even compel an employer to come to terms with representatives of the union. It was created for the purpose of seeing to it that employers refrain from interfering in any way with the workers' right to organize and bargain with the unions which have been selected by the workers.

The methods employed by the National Labor Relations Board are relatively simple. Labor unions, or individual workers,

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SCREEN TRAVELER FROM GENDREAU

RIO DE JANEIRO

The capital of Brazil is one of the world's most beautiful cities. This is a view of the famous Avenida Rio Branco.

## U. S. Reaches Trade Accord With Brazil

Long Series of Conferences Ends With Signing of Important Economic Agreement

### BRAZIL GETS EXPORT LOAN

Agrees in Return to Develop Those Resources Which Are Needed by the United States

Climaxing a month-long series of conferences between Oswaldo Aranha, Brazilian foreign minister, and administration leaders in Washington, an important economic agreement has recently been reached between the United States and Brazilian governments. Under its provisions, the United States will lend to Brazil a sum ranging from \$69,200,000 up to \$120,000,000 in order to help stimulate trade between the two nations, enable Brazil to start payment on her defaulted loans, and regain for the United States markets which have in recent years been lost to Germany. The Brazilian government, on its part, has agreed to encourage those industries whose products are needed by the United States, in order that there shall be less competition between the two countries, and to act to put its shaky finances in order, and thus to permit a free flow of commerce to and from American markets.

#### Importance of Brazil

The economic accord just signed is not merely another trade pact with a foreign country. It has not only cemented our relations with an important neighbor at a time when they needed strengthening badly, but it is expected to improve our position in South America. A brief glance at Brazil itself will show why.

With 42,000,000 people within its borders, Brazil alone contains a population equal to that of all the rest of South America. Its area, stretching across the continent at its widest part from the Andes Mountain barrier to the sea, is enormous. It is so large that if the whole United States were set down in it, there would still be plenty of room for England and France. Located in the very center of the continent, Brazil holds a common border with British, French, and Dutch Guiana, and with all but two of the South American republics.

In addition to its large population, its great size, and the importance of its continental position, Brazil contains a great wealth in natural resources. With more than two and a half billion coffee trees, it produces 69 per cent of the world's coffee supply. Today it leads the world in the export of nuts, and sells large quantities of bananas, pineapples, cotton, cocoa, meat, hides, and manganese—that very important substance used in the hardening process of steel. With over 30,000 miles of navigable waterways, Brazil boasts the largest river system anywhere. Engineers trooping back from the densely forested tropical hinterland mop their brows in the heat and tell of immense mineral deposits of coal and iron which have yet to be touched.

It might well seem that with all this wealth there should be no reason why the United States should have to furnish the Brazilian government with funds. But it is easy to be misled by outward appearances. It is true that sailing into the harbor of Brazil's brilliant capital, Rio de Janeiro, one sees one of the most striking

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## Excellence In Something

BY WALTER E. MYER

I am glad there has been so much discussion among the readers of this paper concerning the relation of good grades in school to the prospects of success in later years. This is one of the most important of student problems and it is right that it should be fully, freely, and candidly considered and discussed. Elsewhere in this paper I give my opinion on certain aspects of the problem. There is one other point which I should like to emphasize in this editorial; one bit of counsel I should like to offer to our readers for whatever it may be worth.

Whether or not you decide that it will pay you to do excellent work in your studies, I hope that each of you may resolve to excel in *something*—at any rate to do work of a very high quality in some activity. I hope that none of you are getting into a frame of mind which will make you satisfied with mediocrity all along the line. You cannot, of course, be a specialist in all things. You cannot be excellent in every activity in which you engage. But please do not get the impression that excellence itself is not worth while in that it is not a requisite for real success. We all expect excellence in the vocations which call for a high degree of skill. Suppose, for example, that a member of your family is seriously ill. You are inquiring about a physician to employ. Someone suggests a certain doctor, and says, "This doctor is fair. He knows quite a little about the care of his patients. His knowledge is not exact, to be sure. He is not an excellent physician. But he has a fine personality. He plays a good game of golf. He takes part in all sorts of community activities. He is, in every sense of the word, a good fellow." Would you call this doctor to look after the member of your family who was hanging between life and death? Such a situation is not unusual. When anyone employs a physician, a lawyer, an architect, an engineer, he expects first-class performance. He expects excellence. Even if the employee is not a member of one of the professions; if, for example, he is a mechanic, you want him to be exact and skillful. You want a topnotcher—someone who has acquired a habit of excellence.

That is why I hope that each of you will value first-class performance in your work. I think it would be well if you should set a very high standard for yourself in your regular school studies. But by all means set it somewhere. Prove to yourself and others that you know what quality is and that you know how to achieve it.





THE AUTHOR OF "MEIN KAMPF"

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## Complete Text of "Mein Kampf" Now Available to English Readers

ONE of the most important books of our times, whether one applauds or abhors its sentiments, is that strange creation of Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf," which means "My Battle." Its importance is not in that it is well written, for it is not; nor is it important because it expresses audacious ideas. Its real importance lies in the fact that the man who wrote it has for six years been in a position powerful enough to put these audacious ideas into practice. Some of them have, in fact, already been realized.

"Mein Kampf" is divided into two sections. The first, which was written in a cell in a Bavarian jail, traces Hitler's personal life and the development of his ideas up to 1923. The second part, written in Berchtesgaden in 1926, deals with the history and objectives of the National Socialist (Nazi) movement.

Although "Mein Kampf" is a book replete with invective and hatreds, and although many of its passages are either dull, inaccurate, or jumbled—in many respects it is very revealing. The first part, in particular, sheds considerable light on the workings of Hitler's mind. One sees him first as a boy, the son of an Austrian customs inspector, restricted by poverty and, seemingly to him, thwarted at every step. He did not do very well in school. Wishing to become a painter, he found himself refused admission to the *Akademie* in Vienna, and developed an intense dislike for the successful artists and art critics. His subsequent decision to become an architect came to no better end.

During these years, Hitler was already formulating grandiose ideas for the future of Germany and for himself, but somehow he found it difficult to get anywhere. In the German army during the World War he was restricted to service as a messenger between regimental headquarters. And afterwards he felt even more strongly the oppressive frustration which settled down over the defeated Germans. He tried to organize a movement against the forces he considered responsible for Germany's downfall, but he failed, and as a result, in 1923 he was sent to jail. As he sat in his cell writing the story of his "battle," he felt it once again. The blame for his frustrations he placed upon the Slavs, the Jews, the French, the trade unions, socialists, the Social Democratic party, the communists, and so forth.

The second part of the book, dealing with the Nazi movement, is of greater interest in a political sense, although it also contains long passages in which the author rambles off into vague and shaky theories about race, religion, and culture. But it does contain a definite program for a Nazi Germany, and some of it is already in effect. As the book demanded, there has been brought about a purge of politicians, writers, artists, art critics, musicians, liberals, and liberal thought; the Jews have been crushed, religion has been forced to the wall, a new military

force built, the Versailles Treaty torn up, the Rhineland militarized, Austria and Sudetenland have been brought into the Reich.

In some ways Hitler has deviated from the program of "Mein Kampf." Whereas he now demands colonies, for instance, in his book he rejected the thought of Germany as a colonial empire. It is for the future to show whether he intends to deviate further, or to follow his original plan of making Germany the greatest power in Europe by means of a German-British-Italian alliance, the "isolation and destruction of France," which he calls "the mortal enemy of our nation," and the crushing of Russia and her border states.

Two complete English translations of "Mein Kampf" have recently appeared in the United States, one published by Stackpole Sons (with no authorization from Hitler), and the other, an authorized edition, by Reynal and Hitchcock. Both sell for \$3, and both publishers announce that some of the returns will be turned over to a fund for refugees. The only real difference between the two editions is that the Reynal and Hitchcock edition is supplemented by notes, while the Stackpole version is not. So far "Mein Kampf" has sold some 5,200,000 copies throughout the world (mostly in Germany) bringing a profit to Adolf Hitler of about \$3,120,000.

## With the Magazines

"What's Happened to Housing?" by Thomas Humphries. *Harpers*, March 1939, pp. 404-415.

This article is a comprehensive study of the actual advance made in one of democracy's great experiments—low-cost housing. This writer believes that the United States Housing Authority has made a good beginning in providing homes for the third of the nation that is "ill-housed." He lists the chief problems of slum clearance and construction of housing projects as: the question of tax exemption, high cost of land, lack of public knowledge on housing, the adverse attitude of the building industry, and the lack of coordination among different organizations supervising housing.



"The Railroad Emergency," by John J. Pelley, George M. Harrison, and Eliot Janeway. *Forum*, March 1939, pp. 131-135.

In this three-sided debate on the railroad problem John Pelley, president of the Association of American Railroads, defends the railroads' policy and demands greater freedom for the companies in rate fixing. George Harrison, as president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, represents one million railroad workers when he asks that railroads receive as much subsidy from the government as other methods of transportation. But he also believes that the railroads should abandon their unsound financial poli-

## Facts About Magazines

### XII. Harpers

IN the summer of 1850 four brothers, James, John, Joseph, and Fletcher Harper, who had for a good many years been engaged in a general publishing business, launched a magazine known as *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*. Its purpose was to bring to American readers the best current literature of the time, particularly the best contributions which were being made by English writers. Among its early contributors were Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, George Eliot, Macaulay, John Ruskin, and Tennyson.

For 75 years after this successful beginning, *Harpers* brought to its readers fiction and essays of the highest rank. This monthly was an illustrated magazine, attractive as well as informative and stimulating. Many prominent Americans depended heavily upon it. Theodore N. Vail, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and one of the great industrialists of his time, probably expressed a view held by many people when he said: "I got more of my education out of reading *Harpers Magazine* than I did out of all the school books I ever studied."

In 1925, when the magazine was 75 years old, a radical change was made in it. The illustrations were dropped because its editors felt that the readers whom it reached were more interested in facts and ideas than they were in pictures, and that space might well be saved for the content of the articles by eliminating the illustrations. Since that time the magazine has contained less fiction and more articles on economic, political, social, and scientific problems of the day, though a certain amount of fiction remains and the stories which appear are by eminent writers.

This magazine does not undertake to support any point of view editorially. Its effort is to bring to its readers articles on all sorts of important problems and developments, articles which are factually correct and reasonable in tone. There is no propaganda about it, no hidden motives. On the really big issues of this period of American history, one will find articles advancing different points of view, but seldom does one find an article which is unreasonable or opinionated or flippant or inspired by hatred or prejudice. In form and spirit the contributions to *Harpers* are educative in the best sense of the word.

These contributions cover such a wide range that one who reads *Harpers* month

by month will have a great deal of information on nearly all the most important questions with which the American people are concerned. Not only will he have information, but he will come into contact with ideas. He will be stimulated by the opinions of men and women who rank among the leaders of American thought. One cannot read the magazine regularly without being introduced to much of the best thinking of the time in matters scientific, educational, artistic, cultural, as well as to questions which are definitely economic, social, or political.

An idea of the scope of *Harpers* may be gained by looking over an issue of it. In March 1939, for example, there are articles on the following subjects: How the businessman in Germany is affected by Nazi rule and how business is carried on in that fascist nation; the problems of housing in America and the conditions under which it may be stimulated; the way American life and industry may be affected by scientific developments and inventions such, for example, as the increasing use of electricity; the progress which is being made by the women of America; the characteristics and the program of President Hutchins of the University of Chicago; the characteristics of Seattle, Washington—

# Harpers

(REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF HARPERS MAGAZINE.)

one of a series on American cities; an important scientific discovery—sulfanilamide. These and several other articles, together with philosophical editorials and book reviews and a short story and a poem, constitute a month's diet of reading as dispensed by the editors of *Harpers*.

We reserve a separate paragraph for the article which seems to us to be the most important of all in the March issue. It is, "In an Era of Unreason," by Nathaniel Peffer. It discusses very thoughtfully the reasons why in the opinion of the author, who is an eminent authority in international affairs, America should arm now. Mr. Peffer believes it is inevitable that the United States will get into a war if one comes in Europe. The article reminds the reader of one which appeared about a year ago by Elmer Davis, "We Lose the Next War," in which the author argued that America would suffer terribly by a war in Europe, however it came out, but that we should not participate. Articles like these are read and discussed widely and exercise a great deal of influence upon American thought with respect to contemporary problems.

*Harpers* is written for adult readers who are capable of thinking. It is not always easy reading and yet the articles are well written and most of them should appeal to college and high school students of higher rank who mean business about securing a comprehensive education. *Harpers* should appeal to those who wish to lift themselves to higher levels of reading and thinking.





# United States Signs Important Trade Agreement With Brazil

(Concluded from page 1)

cities in the world, a cosmopolitan city rich with broad avenues and mosaic sidewalks, where modernity in architecture and business methods lives side by side with a more mellow and graceful influence of old Portuguese culture. It is true also that the land is rich in soil and in resources—so much so that some experts have estimated it could support a population of 900,000,000.

## An Undeveloped Country

But the trouble is that these resources have not been developed. Only one-twentieth of the arable land is under cultivation. Coal and iron lie beneath the soil untouched. Great trackless jungles remain untapped. Although the tropical climate, with its ever-present scourge of disease, insects, and heat, is partly responsible for this, a good deal of the blame for Brazil's underdevelopment must be placed upon the plantation system of society which has endured for so long, and which is unable to cope with the changing conditions in the modern world.

This plantation system stems back almost to the year 1500 when a Portuguese navigator, having been blown off his course into Brazilian waters, claimed that land in the name of his king. Portuguese colonists settled the area and huddled together in a thin strip along the coasts, save in the south where they spread back into the temperate cattle country. These people built large plantations and stocked them with Indian slave labor, as well as with cattle. Although one by one the old ties disappeared—Portuguese rule in 1822, the kingdom in 1889, and slavery about the same time—the great plantations remained, and freed slaves worked at subsistence wages. Down almost to the present day,



BRAZIL TAKES UP NEARLY HALF OF ALL SOUTH AMERICA

the brilliant displays of wealth in Rio de Janeiro and in such other cities as Sao Paulo, Pernambuco, and Belem, have been more than balanced by the poverty, the disease and squalor of the inland villages.

## Economic Weakness

As long as Brazil relied upon the export of two staple products, rubber and coffee, the plantation system served very well. But that system has suffered two severe shocks. The first occurred just before the

World War when rubber began to be produced in the Dutch East Indies and in Indo-China more cheaply and efficiently than it was in Brazil. Brazilian rubber exports fell off, the big rubber plantations went to seed, and those planters who could turned to coffee and tobacco. The second blow has fallen during the last 15 years as world markets became so flooded with coffee produced by Brazil and her fast-rising competitors, particularly Colombia, that prices hurtled downward, taking profits with them. By 1930, Brazil was very much alarmed. Would her coffee production go the way of rubber?

The answer to that question was supplied in part by Getulio Vargas, who seized the presidency by force in 1930. Finding in his grasp the power he had sought, Vargas found himself also confronted with the severe economic crisis brought about by the coffee surplus. Production was high and getting higher while prices were low and still dropping lower. Something had to be done. The Vargas government began buying surplus coffee to keep it from being thrown on the market. As he did this, he found some measure of control over production necessary. One measure led to another, and as the planters had benefited by the government's action, Vargas also took steps to protect Brazil's underpaid labor by means of wage-hour legislation.

Very soon it became apparent that the Brazilian government was changing. It was growing more active, efficient, and powerful. The populous and semi-independent states resented this, for it meant less power and influence for them. Also Vargas was opposed by many old-line politicians who were angered by his cutting expenses. A revolt broke out in Sao Paulo in 1931, and then another in 1932. Both failed, and in 1934 Vargas was reelected president. He drew up a new constitution at that time, but later changed his mind, and in November 1937, the world was surprised to learn that Vargas had overthrown the constitution and established himself as dictator of Brazil, a position that he still holds with in iron hand.

## Relations with Germany

Administration leaders in Washington at first were considerably disturbed by this. Was Brazil going fascist? Would Vargas, as feared, sign up with the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo powers? But Vargas had no intention of joining hands with Hitler and Mussolini. The fact was that he was very hard beset by Brazilian fascists, at the time, the green-shirted *Integralistas*.

Besides the *Integralistas* he was harried by the more than a million Germans in southern Brazil. This minority, occupying a temperate part of the country, found strength in its well-organized and tightly knit German language societies, its schools, its industries, and in the success its government was enjoying in Europe. It was aided and financed, illegally, through German diplomatic and consular representatives. The Italian minority in Brazil, although less aggressive, was also a worry. Altogether there was considerable opposition, but Vargas, by dint of hard work and great vigilance, outmaneuvered his adversaries, outlawed the *Integralistas*, dispersed their leadership, and dissolved all the German political organizations. So intense was the feeling aroused, that diplomatic relations were broken with Germany, and they have not yet been resumed upon a normal basis.

But whatever Vargas and his associates might think of Nazi politics and theories, they could hardly turn up their noses at the orders Germany wished to place for raw materials. What the Germans offered to Brazil was something she could not otherwise see—a way out of her difficulties. Germany offered to trade things which Brazil needed—machinery, machine tools,



ELIZABETH HOBBS FROM FURNESS LINES

## BRAZIL LOADS COFFEE

But cannot find a market for all she produces. The overproduction of coffee is one of the root causes of Brazil's economic problem—a problem which she hopes will be relieved by the new agreements with the United States.

structural steel, equipment for railroads, aircraft, and so forth, in exchange for produce which Brazil was very anxious to dispose of—such as cotton, tobacco, fruits, rubber, and other raw materials.

## Effect upon U. S.

Having little gold, however, Germany paid for her purchases in Aski or "blocked" marks, currency of little value outside Germany. In order to get the full value of her sales, therefore, Brazil was forced to buy in Germany in as large amounts as she could. Gradually the Brazilian government found its finances becoming closely tied up with those of Germany. By means of cleverly managed financial juggling, (too intricate to go into here) the Germans were able to maneuver Brazilian currency into a difficult and vulnerable position. Brazil was beginning to depend upon Germany and upon German markets. American exports to Brazil fell off, and American influence waned. By last December Germany had replaced the United States as Brazil's largest customer.

It has been with no little anxiety that internationally minded Americans have watched the results of the increasing German trade with Brazil. But the United States government has not been blind to these developments, nor has it failed to take any action in the matter, for Brazil is a key nation in South America, and with Argentina not too kindly disposed toward us, good relations with Brazil are very necessary.

Administration leaders in Washington have recognized that if the United States is to regain markets from Germany, we must fill the place that Germany now occupies, and we must not only sell our produce to Brazil, but we must buy from her. A reciprocal trade agreement in 1935, and a \$60,000,000 loan in 1937, helped matters some, but not enough.

## Terms of Agreement

The compact, or agreement, that has just been reached in Washington is expected to do this. If a good agreement is one which benefits both parties to it, then this one should measure up to that standard. The money and credit which the United States is lending to Brazil is expected generally to loosen trade and shake off the fetters which are now binding it. Nearly \$20,000,000 will be extended to permit Brazilian firms to purchase goods here. Another

\$50,000,000 will enable Brazil to establish a strong central reserve bank, to keep her currency in order and to maintain its purchasing power. Perhaps as much as \$50,000,000 more will be extended by an American banking syndicate to develop Brazilian transport and industries. In addition, the United States is sending agricultural and financial experts to Brazil to assist in developing crops that the United States needs and in establishing a sound financial system.

Brazil's contributions to the agreement are no less important. For one thing, on July 1 the government will resume payment on \$357,000,000 in defaulted loans, many of which are held by Americans. Meeting payments on these loans, of course, will call for a great effort on the part of the Brazilian government. But it is thought that after Brazil has paid the first few installments, her credit will improve and an increasingly profitable trade will result. The government has agreed to give American investors an equal position with Brazilian investors. Concentration upon those products which the United States needs, such as rubber, rather than upon those which compete with us, such as cotton, combined with a free flow of orders, will not only provide a sounder base for Brazilian prosperity and expansion, but will boost our own export trade, and should place the United States on a more friendly basis with the second largest nation in this hemisphere.



H. A. E.

## PARTIES TO THE PACT

Secretary of State Hull, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, and Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha of Brazil, the three leading personalities in the negotiation of trade and financial agreements between the United States and Brazil.

## The American Observer

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

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SCHOOL EDITORS MEET

Students from many states attended the fifteenth annual convention of the Columbia Scholastic Press Association at Columbia University in New York recently. High school newspapers and magazines from all over the country were exhibited and scholastic journalism in general was explored.

## DOMESTIC

### Recovery Reminders

Visitors to many important government offices have noticed, the last few days, large blue placards on desks and walls. Printed on these placards, in bold black letters, is the question: "Does it contribute to recovery?"

The placards were passed out by Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau to remind his colleagues in the government that the No. 1 item before the administration at present is business recovery.

The White House has been the scene of several conferences lately, all devoted to recovery and what the government can do to promote it. It seems likely that the first definite action will be in the direction of reducing and repealing certain taxes which are supposed to be holding business back. Members of Congress have suggested certain changes in the tax structure. The President and his aides have studied those suggestions, and some sort of definite proposal from the President is expected very shortly—it may have been made by the time this paper reaches its readers.

### Peace Parley

Long hours of discussion between committees of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations had failed to produce any tangible results as this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER went to press. The conference, which met first in the White House at President Roosevelt's invitation, adjourned to New York a few days later so that its members could carry on their other work.

John L. Lewis, president of the CIO, tossed a bombshell into the conference at its first meeting. He proposed that the A. F. of L., the CIO, and the 300,000 railroad workers (who have unions of their own not affiliated with either larger group) merge into an organization called the American Congress of Labor. He specified that neither himself nor William Green, head of the A. F. of L., should be eligible for office in the new organization, and that it should be governed by an executive board composed of representatives from the three groups.

A. F. of L. officials were immediately antagonistic to this proposal. They said it was not worth serious consideration, and intimated that Mr. Lewis had no idea it would be accepted when he made it. Later, however, they agreed to consider it along with other suggestions.

The most influential factor for peace is President Roosevelt. It is understood that the President made a strong appeal to the conference members when they first convened—and hinted that if they were not able to arrive at some agreement, he might take definite steps himself to bring the organizations together. Neither group wants the Pres-

ident to step in; they would rather settle their affairs alone. But the knowledge that the President has something "up his sleeve" will undoubtedly make the conferees more open-minded toward each other's proposals.

### On Neutrality

It is very likely that the Neutrality Act, passed by Congress in 1937, may be in for some serious revision. The Act was regarded when it was written as a measure which would greatly reduce the possibility of our becoming involved in foreign wars. It provides, in brief, that it shall be unlawful to export arms, ammunition, or implements of war to any belligerent nation once the President has declared that a state of war exists. Furthermore, the President may, if he sees fit, forbid American ships to carry goods to warring nations, and he may set up a "cash-and-carry" policy under which purchasing nations must pay cash for all goods brought here, and must transport them in their own ships.

When the Neutrality Act was passed, the people of the United States were chiefly interested in isolating themselves from any war abroad. But public opinion has shifted—particularly since the episode at Munich six months ago. Now, large numbers of Americans are in favor of changing the law so as to make it possible to help the democratic nations against the dictatorial nations, in the event of war.

Recently the American Institute of Public Opinion polled the nation on its attitude if a general war should break out in Europe. It found that while four-fifths of the people opposed our sending troops to Europe, more than half believed we should sell airplanes and other implements of war to France and England, while more than three-fourths believed we should sell food to those nations. Two weeks before the Munich conference, a similar poll showed that the majority of Americans were opposed to selling either food or implements of war to England and France, although they sympathized with those countries.

This shift in public opinion is responsible for the changed attitude among many mem-

# The Week at Home

## What the People of the World

bers of Congress who formerly championed the Neutrality Act and who would have fought any attempt to change it. In general, the suggested changes would give the government—particularly the President—greater freedom in conducting foreign affairs. Senator Johnson would repeal the Act entirely. Senator Lewis would place all its provisions in the hands of the President, to enforce when and as he sees fit. A third proposed amendment would allow the sale of arms and ammunitions to a nation at war, but on a "cash-and-carry" basis. On the other hand, Senator Nye would stop all sales of arms and ammunitions, during peace and war alike.

### Wildlife Week

Not more than a century ago, millions of passenger pigeons darkened the skies as they made their annual migrations up and down North America. But hunters, finding the birds easy prey, butchered them by the thousands. Today there is not a passenger pigeon left in the United States.

Other birds, animals, and fish have suffered the fate of the passenger pigeon, and many more are threatened unless steps are taken to protect them.



BOTTLENECK!  
BRESSLER IN KINGSTON (N.Y.) DAILY FREEMAN

This week the nation is observing its second annual Wildlife Restoration Week. By radio, newspapers, magazines, speeches, moving pictures, and lectures, the story of wildlife conservation is being told. The week is sponsored principally by the National Wildlife Federation. This organization grew out of a conference, called three years ago by President Roosevelt. It includes thousands of groups—Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops, Izaak Walton Chapters, 4-H Clubs, Future Farmers, Audubon Societies, and so on—which have taken an interest in wildlife conservation.

As part of the week's activities, the Federation is selling a set of 80 wildlife stamps, each



"IT'LL BE NICE WHEN THEY GET THOSE BIRDS"  
HERBLOCK IN BOSTON TRANSCRIPT

of which is illustrated with the beautifully colored picture of an animal, a tree, a wild flower, a bird, or a fish native to this continent. The set sells for one dollar; the money raised will be used to finance the Federation's work. A wildlife album, with spaces for this year's 80 stamps and last year's 16, is offered for sale by the Federation, too. The album, which costs 25 cents, contains a great deal of information concerning wildlife and its conservation.

### Food and Farms

For the last three years, the federal government has been buying up surplus farm products. That is, whenever it appears that farmers have produced so much of any commodity that the market is glutted, and the price is about to drop, the Federal Surplus Commodity Corporation steps in and buys enough of that crop to keep the price up. Altogether, it has spent about 100 million dollars to support the market for dried prunes, apples, cabbages, grapes, skim milk, butter, raisins, milled rice, canned tomatoes, and various other products. This food has been turned over to relief organizations, to be distributed without charge to needy families.

There has been considerable criticism of this plan from grocers, however. They claim that it upsets the normal channels of trade, and that it works in competition with them.

Now the federal government believes that it has hit on a plan to get around these criticisms. The plan is quite simple. A family on relief receives, let us say, \$45 a month. Under the plan, \$15 of that sum will be paid in special orange-colored stamps. These stamps may be used to purchase groceries at any store—the grocers will be reimbursed by the government for the stamps they take in. The cost to the government will be no more than it is at present.

Relief families will not be forced to take



THE MOVEMENT FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE NATION'S WILDLIFE RECEIVES SPECIAL RECOGNITION THIS WEEK  
(From a painting by R. Bruce Horsfall, reproduced through courtesy of Nature Magazine, Washington, D. C.)



# Home and Abroad

## Doing, Saying, and Thinking

stamps instead of cash. But if they do, they will receive also a number of blue stamps, worth half as much as the orange stamps they agree to take. For example, if they take \$15 worth of orange stamps, they will get \$7.50 worth of blue stamps. These blue stamps may be used to purchase groceries, too—but only certain things. They may be exchanged for any product of which there is a surplus. Thus the relief family will get \$7.50 worth of groceries above its regular relief allowance, and the surplus farm products will be used up.

The Department of Agriculture, which has worked out this plan, is proceeding cautiously with it. During the next few months, it is to be tried out in several medium-sized cities. Then, if it proves practical, it may be put into operation on a nation-wide scale.

Rumania and Poland, and in the efforts of Rumania and Turkey to marshal the Balkans into a strong confederation which, if not exactly pro-British or pro-French, is certainly not pro-Nazi.

The question of the Soviet Union and its position is still an enigma. Having rebuffed the Soviets last fall, the British are now preparing for an important series of trade talks in Moscow. The Soviets, on the other hand, have indicated through a speech of Dictator Josef Stalin that while they have little love for Hitler, they have little more for Great Britain and France.

### Czecho-Slovakia Again

Those who followed the events leading up to the Munich agreement and its attendant partition of Czecho-Slovakia last fall, will probably remember that the Czechs, in return for yielding to Hitler's demands, and thus saving the European peace, were promised that the integrity of their new borders would be guaranteed and protected by England and France. It was largely on that condition that the Czechs yielded.

Czecho-Slovakia kept her promise and was cut up. But England and France did not keep theirs. Nothing further was heard about the promised guarantees. They were not forthcoming. Nor is there any reason to believe



PARIS BUILDS "CATACOMBS" TO GUARD AGAINST AIR ATTACK

A reproduction of the maze-like system of underground shelters being constructed as protection against air raids in wartime. First trenches are excavated, and then it is planned to reinforce the trenches with concrete. A garden will be laid over the trenches to camouflage them.

## FOREIGN

### Week In Europe

Probably the most important single development in Europe recently was the announcement by British War Secretary Leslie Hore-Belisha that in the event of a European war Great Britain would dispatch 19 divisions

three small states, Bohemia-Moravia, Slovakia, and Carpatho-Ukraine. Hitler also demanded the resignation of the present Czech government, suppression of all anti-Nazi elements in Czecho-Slovakia, persecution of the Jews, the disbanding of the Czech army, and a large part of the Czech government's gold. At the time of writing German troops are preparing to invade Czecho-Slovakia and the end of that state seems near.

Some people believe that the Slovak campaign was deliberately encouraged by Nazis to give the German government an excuse to intervene.

### Gandhi Victory

All India seemed to be held in a state of suspension recently as one little Hindu, Mohandas K. Gandhi, grew rapidly weaker, refusing to take food until the young prince of the tiny state of Rajkot agreed to give his 60,000 subjects a voice in the government. The British viceroy hurried back to Delhi from a tour of northern India. The big markets of Bombay were closed, trade in Calcutta was at a standstill. Millions of Hindus went into mourning and waited. In such a tense situation the prince of Rajkot was prevailed upon to give way and grant a degree of self-government to his people. Gandhi then accepted a glass of orange juice and began to recover. The tension broke at once, and India began to breathe freely once again.

### Mutiny In Spain

Nineteen years ago the people of Bizerte, the powerful French naval base in Tunisia, witnessed a strange procession of warships with tall funnels moving into port. The fleet, battered by shellfire, was that of General Peter Wrangel, the Russian czarist commander who had been driven from Russia by the victorious Communists. Symbolic of the collapse of an empire, the first fleet came to anchor in the inner harbor, hauled down the double eagles of Imperial Russia, and surrendered to the French for internment.

Recently that same Russian fleet (now silent, with its guns unmounted and its boilers cold) witnessed a similar scene as 11 warships from loyalist Spain limped into port

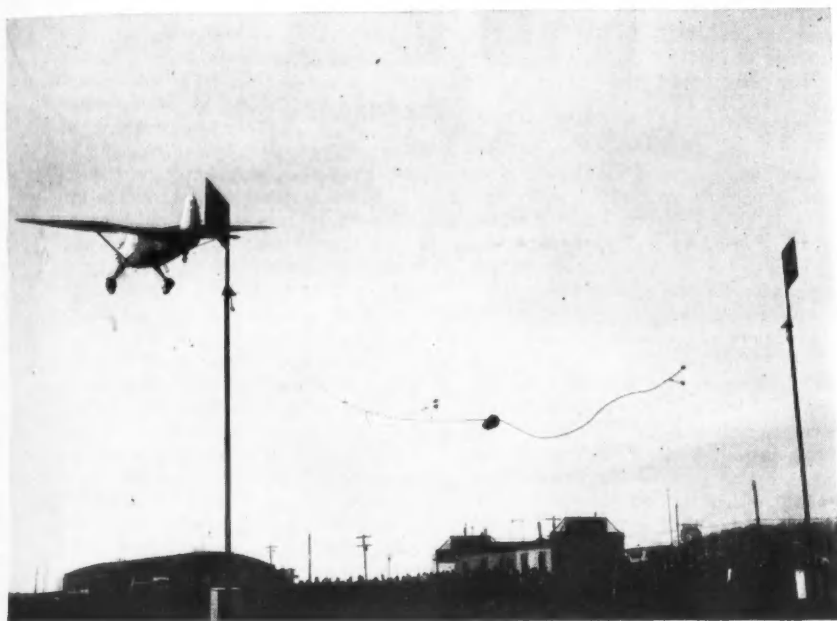
with 3,500 men and 500 women and children on board. The sailors had mutinied in Cartagena, sent their officers ashore, and surrendered the fleet to France to be interned like the Russian fleet.

In the meantime loyalist Spain, having lost its fleet, was further weakened by other mutinies, these on land. Grimly determined never to surrender to Franco, the Communists tried to force the newly constituted government of General Miaja to continue war in a fight to the death. Riots broke out in many cities, and in Madrid, where fighting lasted for a week before the Communists were suppressed, it approached open warfare. General Franco merely watched and waited, either for the loyalists to surrender or to weaken.

### Refugees

One of the more pressing problems facing the French government since the fall of Barcelona has been what to do with the thousands of Spanish loyalist refugees who poured down from the mountains' snows for more than two weeks. An estimated number of 442,000 of these have since been shivering in concentration camps where there is inadequate shelter, food, or clothing. Some 12,000 of them are wounded and 170,000, women, children, and aged. The French government gave them their choice of returning to loyalist Spain or insurgent Spain. It was impossible to get back to loyalist Spain, and to Franco Spain most of them bitterly refused to go. France wondered what to do with them. No other country would take them. In the meantime they were costing the French government 7,200,000 francs every day for food and shelter, insufficient though it may have been.

Into this difficult situation the Mexican government recently came, announcing that it would accept most of the Spanish refugees now in France on the single condition that they agree not to engage in politics in Mexico. Such a condition is not very stringent, and the Mexican offer has brought considerable relief, although there still remains the question as to how the movement of nearly half a million people across the Atlantic is to be financed. One reason why the Mexican government has been willing to accept these refugees is thought to be its desire for a new infusion of Spanish blood in Mexico.



SPEEDY PICKUP

A system of nonstop air mail service is being tried out by transport companies. Mail is dropped from the plane and is picked up with a grapple as it hangs in a bag on a free rope stretched between two 40-foot poles. If the Post Office Department approves, the system will be installed in a number of towns.

(a maximum of 300,000 troops) to France within the first month of the war. This announcement reflects a direct reversal of former plans, which were to keep the army at home and give to France only the aid of a small and highly mechanized force. Shortly after this announcement, it was made known that Mr. Chamberlain intends to call a general disarmament conference in the late summer, if it seems that such a conference stands any chance of success.

These announcements are but two indications of the increasing power of British arms. After toying for several years with the idea of fighting merely a "limited war" (if war should come), Britain now feels herself strong enough to plunge in with all her resources. At the same time, the British feel their armaments have come along far enough to put them in a position to speak with a strong voice in a disarmament conference.

The atmosphere of fear and defeatism which seemed to paralyze the democratic states and their allies last fall seems to have been partially dispelled by a renewed feeling of optimism and strength. A drawing together of the nonfascist powers is noticeable, and outwardly it may perhaps be measured in a visit by the Polish foreign minister, Josef Beck, to London and Paris, in talks between

that they intend to keep them. When asked about the promised guarantees in the House of Commons not long ago, Prime Minister Chamberlain refused to comment, and shrugging his shoulders he left the House.

In the meantime matters are once again becoming serious in what is left of Czecho-Slovakia. Shortly after the Munich agreement there was considerable agitation for self-government in Slovakia. This province, lying in the center of the long, thin country, separates Bohemia and Moravia, on the west, from the easternmost province of Carpatho-Ukraine. For months the Slovaks agitated for autonomy. Some of them were moderates, but the strongest and noisiest group was the Hlinka Guard, a pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic group formed by the late Father Hlinka.

Recently the agitation of the Slovak extremists swelled suddenly into a succession of shootings, riots, and a campaign of terrorism akin to that preceding the Munich agreement. The Slovaks were joined by the German minority, obviously acting under orders, and soon the papers in Germany were filled with stories of Czech "atrocities" against Germans.

Then, with a suddenness that shocked the Czechs, Hitler entered upon the scene. Two ultimatums were presented to the Czech government, calling for a split of the nation into



WILL CZECHO-SLOVAKIA BE ABLE TO PRESERVE ITS UNITY?

NEW YORK TIMES





A LABOR MEETING IN A FACTORY SHORTLY AFTER THE WORLD WAR MARTIN

## Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

### Labor Relations in U. S. History

THE passage of the National Labor Relations Act three and a half years ago was a milestone in the long history of American labor. By guaranteeing to workers the right to form unions of their own choosing and by preventing employers from engaging in practices regarded as unfair to labor's interest, it placed the power of the government squarely behind the principle of trade unionism and collective bargaining. In a sense, the law places the federal government in the role of a union



DAVID S. MUZZEY

organizer, for its influence is used on behalf of workers who wish to join labor unions.

Such a policy is a far cry from the theory and practice of labor relations throughout the greater part of our national history. Until recent years, organized labor has enjoyed few of the rights and privileges accorded to organized business, and the workers have been hard pressed in making their wishes effective against employers. There were few laws on the statute books to protect them in their efforts to organize trade unions, and frequently they were dealt severe blows by adverse rulings of the courts. Only in a few isolated instances was the weight of the federal government thrown on the side of labor, such for example as the establishment of the War Labor Board in 1918, which tried to guarantee to workers the right to organize and bargain collectively with employers.

On the other hand, many features of the law actually protected employers in their drives to defeat the unionization of their workers. They could compel workers to sign agreements promising not to join labor unions. They could form associations with other employers and, in the courts, compel the latter to refrain from hiring union members. They could lock out workers who belonged to unions. They could hire strikebreakers and pay deputies for breaking up strikes without fear of running afoul of the law. They could sponsor and dominate unions themselves, company unions, and thus prevent their workers from joining independent labor organizations. In a hundred different ways, the law could be used to serve the interests of the employer in his fight against unionism among his workers.

In many other ways, in addition to the protection they enjoyed from the law, employers have been able to thwart the organized labor movement, before labor's rights were fully guaranteed by law. With

relatively few exceptions, antiunion sentiment has always been strong among employers. Organizations of employers were formed shortly after the Civil War for the express purpose of fighting unionization through propaganda and other devices. Propaganda has always been one of the most effective methods of employers in fighting labor organization. As Professor Robert R. Brooks points out in his book, "Unions of Their Own Choosing":

Throughout the last 30 years, publicity bureaus, subsidized speakers, pamphlets, press releases, and whispering campaigns have been maintained to spread the word that union leaders draw huge salaries, charge exorbitant dues, and squander the union's funds; that unions are rackets which extort tribute from the workers, the public, and the employers; that unions are anarchistic, syndicalistic, Bolshevik, Communist, Fascist, and un-American; that unions are lawbreaking, subversive, irresponsible, terroristic, and violent. This exercise of social power has been very expensive, but may have been worth the money for the time being, from an antiunion point of view. It has been carried on both inside and outside the shop.

Other methods of the past (and to a less extent) have been equally effective in fighting the labor movement. The tremendous power of the employer, his economic power, has been used in many cases for antiunion purposes. He has not hesitated to discriminate against the union member, to discharge him. He has threatened to move his plant into other regions and has often done so. He has compiled black lists of union members, making it difficult for a worker discharged for union activities to find employment in another concern.

Frequently, such subtle methods as welfare schemes of one kind or another, such as group insurance for workers, espionage systems, and the formation of company unions, have been used for the sole purpose of preventing the unionization of workers. Not infrequently, employers have sponsored vigilante committees and organized back-to-work movements to suppress union activities.

It was to prevent such practices as these, to give the workers an equal right with employers in organizing to protect their interests, that the National Labor Relations Act was passed. Not only does it guarantee to workers the right to form unions of their own choosing, but it makes this right enforceable in the courts of the land. It is felt by many that the government, in its effort to protect workers against the extremism of a minority of employers, has swung too far in the other direction. They contend that the National Labor Relations Board is one-sided; that it curbs unfair acts on the part of employers but allows workers to abuse their new freedom. These contentions are discussed elsewhere in this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

## Personalities in the News

NO government agency has been more under fire the last few years than the National Labor Relations Board. The man who has borne the brunt of that fire is a quiet-spoken, brown-haired college professor—J. Warren Madden. President Roosevelt picked him as chairman of the three-man NLRB in 1935, and while the Board itself has been subjected to much criticism, Chairman Madden has earned the respect of businessmen and labor leaders alike by his straightforward, energetic handling of his job.

Mr. Madden grew up on an Illinois farm, the youngest of seven brothers. He graduated from the University of Illinois, then went to the University of Chicago for his law training. In 1914 he started teaching law at the University of Oklahoma, and he has been a member of the faculty at Stanford, Cornell, the University of Chicago, West Virginia, Ohio State, and Pittsburgh since that time. He has been on leave of absence from the last of those institutions during his stay in Washington. Into his teaching career he has mixed some private law practice, some writing on legal problems, and a great deal of activity on various committees concerned with social problems.

Shortly after he was put in charge of the NLRB, Chairman Madden was invited to address one of the most powerful groups of employers in the country, the National Association of Manufacturers. He spoke bluntly and to the point. "Managements of many American plants," he said, "can and do effectively destroy the right of self-organization among workmen. Congress was not in error when it supposed managements had a habit of fighting labor organizations with discharges, stool-pigeons, and enforced company unions." He is always outspoken and thus has been criticized by employers for his "injunctive" attitude.



J. WARREN MADDEN

difference of opinion among educators as to what should be done. One of the men who have very definite ideas on this subject is Robert Maynard Hutchins, the youthful president of the University of Chicago.

President Hutchins was called the "boy wonder" when he was put in charge of the university, which is one of the four or five outstanding institutions of its kind in the country. He was only 30 years old at the time—young enough to be the son of many members of the faculty. His rise in the educational world had been rapid. After graduating from Yale in 1921, he taught in a private school for two years, and then returned to Yale as the university's secretary. He studied law while he worked, and in 1925 he received his degree. Shortly after that he was put in charge of Yale's law school. His activities in that position won him wide recognition—and the Chicago job.

President Hutchins is a well-built, good-looking man. He is a good speaker and a better writer. His articles in *Harper's* and the *Saturday Evening Post* concerning his views on education aroused considerable



ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

interest in a subject which is generally ignored by most people. He is not only an educational theorist, however; he has done a good job as the chief executive of a large university. When the university was under fire in Chicago because several of its professors were regarded as radicals, President Hutchins refused to give in and eventually beat down the opposition. While he has not been able to put his theories into practice at Chicago as completely as he would like, he has begun several experiments which are being watched with keen interest throughout the United States.

POLITICAL leaders in Belgium, who for some months have been engaged in quarreling among themselves over internal matters, were recently shocked to find themselves in receipt of a sharp communication from their king, Leopold III. Just a few hours after Premier Hubert Pierlot had dissolved parliament and called for a new election, King Leopold wrote him that the constitution was being ignored, and that political bickerings were jeopardizing the nation's security. The king's criticism was said by some to have been the severest ever made of the parliament by a Belgian ruler.

Although this criticism was a surprise to some, it has not surprised those who have followed the king's activities closely. For Leopold is a very earnest man who takes his duties and responsibilities very seriously. His regime was inaugurated on a note of sorrow just five years ago after his famous father, King Albert, had been killed in a fall while mountain climbing. The whole nation was plunged into gloom. Just 16 months later another tragedy overtook the Belgian royal family when a car in which the king was driving crashed, instantly killing his young and beautiful queen, Astrid.

These two personal tragedies in his life left little for Leopold to do but plunge into his work, which he has done. But here again the sky has been dark as Germany and France have glowered at one another, and Belgium has not forgotten what happened the last time they fought it out. With responsibilities heavy upon him, Leopold has worked hard, and tried to keep unity within Belgium.



OSWALDO ARANHA

THE Brazilian foreign minister, Oswaldo Aranha, who bore the brunt of the 30 days of negotiations in Washington for the Brazilian-American trade pact, is no stranger to that city, having served there previously with distinction as ambassador. Born 45 years ago, the son of a well-to-do cattle rancher in the "gaúcho" country of Rio Grande do Sul, the most southern state in Brazil, he studied first to be a soldier in a Brazilian military college, and then to be a lawyer in Paris. His life since then has been somewhat a mixture of both.

In South America there are not many politicians who, at one time or another in their lives, have not been involved in some revolution, either backing one or trying to suppress another. Within the short period of eight years, Aranha was involved in five, was wounded twice, and still carries a bullet in his shoulder. His political life has consisted of a series of steps upward from a member of the state legislature in Rio Grande do Sul up to the national cabinet, where he served as minister of justice, minister of finance, and, after his term as ambassador to the United States, in the office which he now holds, that of foreign minister.

Like Getulio Vargas, the president of Brazil, Aranha has very little idealism in him. First and last he is a politician, clever and practical. Today he stands second only to Vargas as a power in Brazil.



LEOPOLD III



## What Will a Good School Record Do for Your Success in Later Life?

By WALTER E. MYER

THE poll of student opinion conducted by the *Weekly News Review* and THE AMERICAN OBSERVER recently aroused a great deal of interest and there has been widespread discussion of the results of the poll. The question to which chief attention was given apparently was question No. 3, "In your opinion is the student who makes excellent grades more likely to succeed in life than one who does not?" More than 125,000 students answered this question, and 55 per cent of them answered in the negative. I commented editorially on this response and said that, in my opinion, the 55 per cent of the students were wrong and that the 45 per cent were right. I gave my reasons very briefly for thinking that students who did particularly good work in their subjects at school were more likely to succeed than those who did not.

I have received a flood of letters from both teachers and students as a result of this editorial. Some of the letters agree with me and others do not. Those who do not agree emphasize the following points:

*The student with excellent grades is likely to be a bookworm. He does not participate in the social life, does not take part in extracurricular activities, and does not develop his personality.*

*Good work in the regular school subjects does not prepare one for a job as well as he will be prepared by participating in various school activities.*

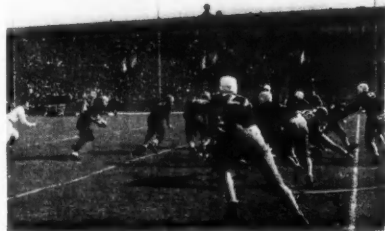
*Character and personality count for more than all that can be learned in books.*

It is a mistake, I think, to assume that one must choose between being an unsocial, narrowly developed bookworm, on the one side, and a smatterer who engages in many activities and does none of them well, on the other. There are indeed students of the bookworm type, students who withdraw themselves from social activities, who confine themselves to the study of their books. This type of student, as I have pointed out in both THE AMERICAN OBSERVER and the *Weekly News Review*, will be seriously handicapped. There are indeed a number of things he may do. He may succeed in research work, he may accomplish something as a scientist, he may if mechanically inclined become an inventor. He can engage in a number of activities where accuracy counts for a great deal and the social qualities count for little, but in most of the work of the world he will be deficient. There are so few things he can do well that his chances for success are not very bright.

There are, however, many students who do well in their classwork, who excel in it, as a matter of fact, and who at the same time do well in a number of school activities. These are the really superior students. They have good minds so that they can accomplish more than the average in a shorter time. They are mentally curious. They are alert and quick of mind. At the same time they are ambitious. Hence they do their schoolwork well in a reasonable amount of time, and then that very

quickness of mind and alertness which make their classwork interesting to them lead them into other activities. They perform well in these other activities because they are competent and ambitious and are satisfied with nothing less than excellence. They do not try to engage in all activities open to the student. They budget their time carefully, find out how much they can do well, and do it. Their development is well rounded, they grow intellectually and also in personality. There are not a great number of such students, certainly they are not in a majority, but there are some of them in practically every school, and I should say that these are the individuals whose chances of success in life are brightest.

The notion that brightness and success in classwork usually go along with stupidity in other lines, or that they go along with narrowness of interest, is, in my opinion, a mistaken one. It has been my observation that good work in the classroom is likely to go along with good work outside. For example, during the time that I was teaching in high school I coached debate for a number of years, and during all this time I did not find a single student who did excellent work as a debater while at the same time doing poor work in the classroom. I found a good many who were fair in both departments of the school life. I found a few who did excellently in debate and only fairly well



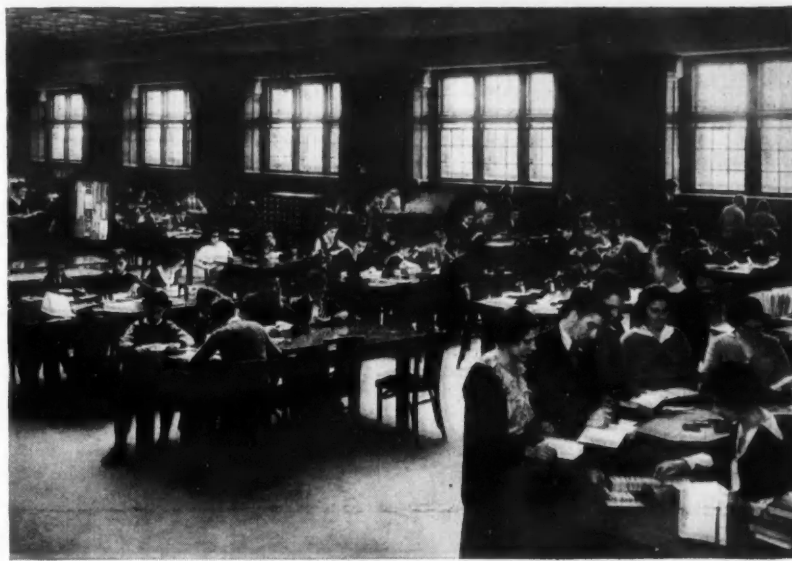
WHAT ARE THE ATHLETE'S PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS AFTER SCHOOL?  
(From an illustration in "All the Children," courtesy Board of Education, New York City.)

in the classroom. But in most cases the really good debaters were the ones who led in the classroom.

It is a good thing for a student to broaden his interests. I believe wholeheartedly in the extracurricular activities. Those who have read my weekly "Talks to Students" in the *Weekly News Review*, and my editorials and also the department "Locate Yourself" in THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, know this. I have spoken many times in favor of the formation of student clubs. I believe that the student should have a well-rounded development, that he should develop culturally and esthetically and artistically, as well as intellectually.

I believe, furthermore, that personality and character development is important. I have said repeatedly in this paper that character and personality training is very important indeed. More people lose their jobs because of character and personality defects than because of a lack of intellectual training. I think there is no question of this.

My conviction is, therefore, that good work in the classroom is only one of a number of factors which contribute to one's success. I do think, however, that it is one factor. When I employ a young man or woman, as I frequently do, I look for evidence that he (or she) has a good, clear mind, that he is conscientious, that he is dependable, that he will do the best he can at the work which is set before him, that he knows how to apply himself and give attention to his job, that he is capable of concentrated effort. If I find that this young person did his classroom work well, I do not feel that this proves necessarily that he will do other work well, but I regard a good record in school as being evidence that the individual pos-



DOES EXCELLENCE IN STUDIES CONTRIBUTE TO SUCCESS IN LIFE?

sesses the qualities for which I am looking. I do not base my decision wholly upon grades, but I take them into account.

If the student did poor work or mediocre work in school, I do not assume to a certainty that he lacks the qualities that will make for success. I know that he may be quite all right, but I am not quite so sure of him as I am of one who presents a good school record. I am afraid that he has not learned how to work, or that he is inattentive, or that he scatters his efforts too much, or that he is not industrious, or that he is easily discouraged by obstacles. I am afraid that perhaps he didn't like his studies very well and decided that he wouldn't buckle down and do much with them. That leads me to fear that, if there are certain things in our office that he does not care for particularly, he will slight that part of the work and be undependable. I prefer a young person who has something within him that impels him to go through with his job and do his best at it so long as he is engaged in it, even though he does not like all aspects of it, even though he might prefer to do something else, even though he finds the going hard at times.

For these reasons, a young person who comes to me for work has a better chance for a job if he presents a good school record. Please understand that, as I said, I

do not judge wholly upon this record, but I take it into account. I believe that nearly all other employers do the same thing, at least all employers who are looking for highly skilled labor or who want to lead their employees into positions of skill and responsibility. I feel certain, therefore, that one who has a good record behind him stands a better chance to get a job than one who does not. I think, furthermore, that he stands a better chance to hold the job, for the very qualities of mind which prompted him to do his work well in school will also prompt him to do his work well outside of school.

My advice is, therefore, that each of our readers do four things: (a) Maintain a character which is absolutely unquestioned. Be honest, be loyal and dependable. (b) Develop your personality habits so that you will be friendly, pleasing of manner, and well poised. (c) Get into the habit of mastering your schoolwork. Be thorough and accurate. Do not be satisfied with mediocrity. Be known as one who knows and understands all subjects studied. (d) Broaden your interests so that they may cover a wide field. See to it that you make physical, cultural, and artistic progress. If you stand high in all these lines of development you will be more likely to succeed than if you are deficient in any of them.

## Something to Think About

### Are You Sure of Your Facts?

1. What is the main purpose of the National Labor Relations Act and what is the main function of the board which administers it?
2. How has the split between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations rendered the Board's task more difficult?
3. What is meant by a "cease and desist" order and when is one issued?
4. How does Brazil compare with the United States in size?
5. What are the main provisions of the trade agreement recently concluded between this country and Brazil?
6. Why is Harpers one of the most important magazines in the country from the standpoint of contributing to an understanding of contemporary problems?
7. True or false: Throughout most of our national history, the courts and the government have been on the side of labor.
8. What proposal did the CIO make for a settlement of the dispute with the A. F. of L.?
9. What amendments to the Neutrality Act have been proposed in Congress?
10. What important developments have recently taken place in Czecho-Slovakia?

### Can You Defend Your Opinions?

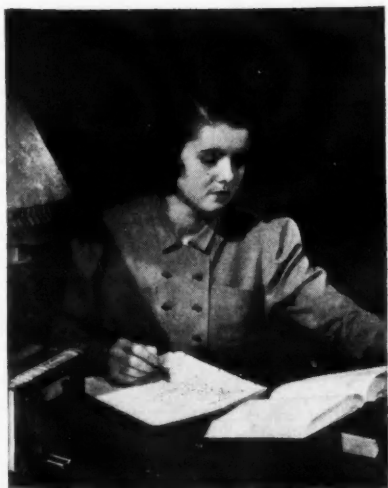
1. Do you think the National Labor Relations Act should be amended? If so, what changes would you make?
2. In your opinion, is the charge justified that the act is one-sided?
3. What do you think will be the effects of the trade agreement between the United States and Brazil?

4. Do you think amendment or repeal of the Neutrality Act would contribute to peace or make war more likely?
5. What qualities of character, personality, and training contribute most to a student's success in vocational life?

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PRONUNCIATIONS: Mein Kampf (mine' kahmpf'), Berchtesgaden (bairk'tes-gah-den'), Hubert Pierlot (u-bair'-u as in use-pyair'-loe), Oswaldo Aranha (oes-vahl'doe ah-rah'n'-hah), gauchos (gow'choe-ow as in how), Rio Grande do Sul (ree'oe grahn'day doo' sool'), Getulio Vargas (hay-too'lyoe vah'r'-gahs), Rio de Janeiro (ree'oe day' zhah-nay' roe), Sao Paulo (sown' pow'loe-ow as in how), Pernambuco (pair-nahm-boe'koe), Belem (beh-lem'), Integralistas (een-tay-grah-les'tahs), Bizerte (bee-zairt'), Tunisia (toonish'ia), Cartagena (kar-tah-hay'nah'), Miaja (mee-ah'hah'), Mohandas Gandhi (moe-hahn'-dahs gahn'dee), Delhi (del'lee), Rajkot (rahj'kot).



GALLOWAY



# The National Labor Relations Board

(Concluded from page 1)

may bring to the attention of one of the 22 regional offices of the Board charges that employers have violated the law by indulging in unfair practices. An investigation is then conducted by the regional office. It calls in the employer to answer the charges which have been made against him. It may drop the case on the ground of insufficient evidence to support the charges. It frequently happens that the union or the workers who bring the charges drop them because they feel they have no case. As a matter of fact, since the Board's existence, 16 per cent of all cases brought before it have been dismissed on the ground of insufficient evidence and 24 per cent of the cases have been withdrawn by unions or workers.

## Record of Board

The Labor Relations Board has been successful in settling with little difficulty a large number of the remaining cases brought before it. Approximately three-fourths of the cases brought up have been settled by adjustment. For example, employers called in for violation of the law have agreed to stop their practices, either of interfering with the union activities of workers or refusing to bargain collectively. In only five per cent of the total cases is the full machinery of the act put into motion against employers. If the regional office

the unskilled workers. In the same plant or factory, there may be several A. F. of L. unions, each one composed of workers who perform special types of operations. Or, there may be two industrial unions in the same plant, one of them affiliated with the CIO and the other with the A. F. of L.

Where a situation of this kind exists, which of the unions represents the workers and should act as their agency in bargaining collectively with the employers? It is the duty of the National Labor Relations Board to settle jurisdictional disputes of this kind. It is here that it has run afoul of the two rival national labor organizations, for when it has ruled in favor of the CIO union, it has been charged with bias by the Federation of Labor. Contrariwise, when it has favored the A. F. of L. union, it has been accused of partisanship by the CIO.

In conducting elections among workers to determine the union which should act for the workers, the Board can act in two ways: It can hold a general election among all the workers in a plant. In this case, the principle of majority rule would prevail; that is, the union which is favored by a majority of the workers would act as the bargaining agency for all the workers. Here the same principle is used that is applied in political elections, for the Republican or Democratic candidate who secures a bare majority of the votes in his district is chosen to represent all the people of his district in Congress.

But elections might be held in a different way. Where there is a division of workers into different unions; that is, where some of the workers belong to craft unions and others to an industrial union, separate elections might be held. In this case, the majority of each group or type of workers would determine which union should act as its agent in bargaining with employers. Thus not one union would bargain for all the workers in a given industrial concern, but several would have the right to act for various groups.

Since the A. F. of L. is organized largely on a craft basis, it has favored elections of the second type. It argues that its unions should be allowed to speak for the workers belonging

to them and that if the principle of majority rule for the entire plant is followed, it will suffer and the CIO unions will dominate the situation. The CIO, on the other hand, argues that it is only

just that the democratic principle of allowing majority rule should prevail in labor relations as in political elections.

## A Difficult Task

The Labor Relations Board has had an impossible task on its hands in dealing with this situation. During the earlier period of its existence, it conducted most of the elections on the basis of majority rule among all the workers in a given plant or industry. The union which secured a majority of the workers' votes was authorized to act for all the workers. But this policy provoked a storm of protest from the A. F. of L., which claimed that the Board was acting in a biased manner to further the interests of the CIO.

During recent months, however, the Board has conducted its elections according to the second formula. If a majority of the members of a craft union are in favor of acting independently, that union is authorized to act as the spokesman of all its members in dealings with employers. It may be that a majority of all the workers in the concern favor having a single unit represent them. In this case, the union favored by the majority of all the workers acts only for those not represented by the craft union or unions.

The principal dispute between the A. F. of L. and the CIO with respect to the Labor Relations Board hinges on this point. The Federation favors amendment of the act so as to make it compulsory for the Board to allow all craft unions to represent their members in bargaining with employers. It would have the separate election principle followed in every case. Every worker should have the right to be represented by the union of his choice, it is argued, and should not be obliged to accept the representative of the majority of workers.

The CIO denies the charges that the Board has been partial to its unions in determining the proper bargaining agency of workers. It points out that up to last October 1, the Board decided 49 cases involving disputes over the type of election to be held in various plants. In 24 of these cases, the Board ruled in favor of the A. F. of L., and in 21 it decided in favor of the CIO. In the other four cases, neither won a complete victory.

In deciding this thorny issue, the Labor Relations Board has been guided by the circumstances prevailing in each case. When it is confronted with demands from rival unions, it undertakes to determine



IT'S FULL OF TERMITES  
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whether one kind of election or the other is clearly called for. If investigation shows that the claims of one union or the other should be disregarded, it follows that course. For example, an overwhelming majority of the workers may belong to an industrial union and the craft union may have been only recently organized and have only a few members. In that case, the principle of majority rule for all is followed. Or, the craft union or unions may be firmly entrenched in the industry; in which case, they are allowed to become the bargaining agencies in that particular plant.

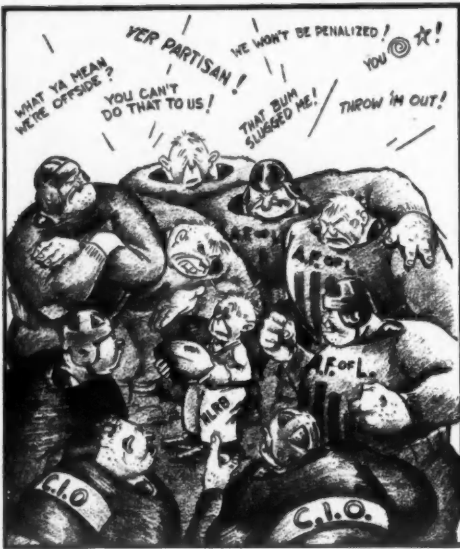
## Employers' Opposition

While the dispute between the A. F. of L. and the CIO over the operation of the National Labor Relations Act has created the greatest disturbance and controversy, the act and Board have been criticized from other quarters. A large number of employers feel that the Wagner Act is a one-sided affair, protecting workers in their right to organize and outlawing unfair practices on the part of employers, while offering employers no protection against unfair practices on the part of labor unions. Frequently, businessmen suffer heavy losses as a result of strikes caused by disputes between rival unions. Sometimes labor unions violate contracts entered into with employers. They often use coercion of one form or another to compel workers to join unions against their will.

Moreover, employers contend that they should have the right to ask the Board to call elections to determine which union, or whether any union at all, should act for the workers. At present, only the unions have this right. Earlier employers opposed the act on the ground that it was unconstitutional, but since the Supreme Court has ruled upon its constitutionality, opposition of this kind has died down. Nevertheless, opposition on the various grounds listed above remains very strong and there is a movement afoot to amend it so as to eliminate what employers call its present injustices.

As to the validity of these charges, it is true that the Labor Relations Act is to a certain extent a one-sided law. It does favor the principle of collective bargaining as a matter of national policy. As Professor Brooks aptly points out in his excellent book, "Unions of Their Own Choosing," the act "is partial to the principle of collective bargaining. The Board is partial to the enforcement of the act. And the courts have been thus far partial to the partiality of both Congress and the Board."

Friends of the labor act answer the charges of employers by saying that existing laws are sufficient to give safeguards against abuses on the part of labor unions. Employers are already adequately protected against unfair practices on the part of labor unions, they contend. The long history of labor in this country, they argue, would hardly indicate that the law has been on the side of the workers. The principal argument in favor of the present law is that it is essential to throw the weight and influence of the government on the side of labor in order to enable workers to stand up against the superior economic power of employers.



HIS DECISIONS ARE 'QUESTIONED'  
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is unable to settle the case, it is referred to the national Board in Washington. If it decides that the employer has violated the law, it issues what is known as a "cease and desist" order, which is enforceable in a federal court. If the employer wishes, he may appeal this order to a federal court which will review the facts in the case. In an overwhelming majority of the cases brought before federal courts, the decisions of the Board have been upheld.

While the Labor Relations Board has met with conspicuous success in settling the cases involving violation of the law on the part of employers, it has met with greater difficulty from another direction. One of the important functions of the Board is to determine whether a particular union should be the spokesman of all the workers in a plant or factory, and where there is more than one union, to determine which union shall be the agency for collective bargaining. It is in performing this function that the Board has encountered sharp criticism from a number of quarters.

## Root of Difficulty

The root of this difficulty, of course, lies in the split in labor itself. As we pointed out last week, one of the principal obstacles to labor peace is the competition between unions in various industries. In many industries there are rival unions. In a certain factory, for example, certain workers may belong to a union which is affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Generally, these will be

## Smiles

"I shall miss you while you are on your hunting trip, dear," said the young wife. "And I shall pray that the other hunters do the same thing."  
—CLIPPED

"Wonderful achievement!" the reporter shouted. "You've broken all record for a nonstop flight. How did you do it?"  
"Well, to tell the truth," the rank amateur answered modestly, "I think luck had something to do with it. I didn't find out until about five minutes ago how to stop the thing."  
—AMERICAN BOY

"In your opinion, who are the three greatest sailors in the British history?" an admiral who was conducting an examination for the British navy asked one of the candidates.  
The reply came quickly. "I'm sorry, sir, I didn't catch your name when I entered the room, but the other two are Nelson and Drake."  
—FROTH

Then there was the host who invited friends in to a rabbit dinner, and fed them carrots and peas.  
—NEWTON KANSAS-REPUBLICAN

An Irishman had been thrown over a fence by an enraged bull. He had just recovered when he noticed the bull pawing the ground and furiously tossing his head.  
"If it wasn't for your bowing and scraping," said Mike, "I'd think yer threw me over on purpose."  
—CLIPPED

Doctor: "Why do you have CD41144 tattooed on your back?"  
Patient: "That's not tattooed. That's where my wife ran into me with the car when I was opening the garage door."  
—TRANSIT NEWS



"GO HIDE THE SILVER, GEORGE"  
PROBILLA IN COLLIER'S